DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 093 564 RC 008 025

AUTHOR Fulton, Philip N.
TITLE Status Attainment Through Marriage: The Experience of Rural Women.
PUB DATE 5 Aug 74
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Montreal, Canada, August 1974

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$1.50 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; Aspiration; *Economic Opportunities; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Family Life; Individual Development; *Marriage; Promotion (Occupational); *Rural Population; Rural Urban Differences; Sex Discrimination; Social Mobility; *Socioeconomic Status

ABSTRACT

The literature suggested that marriage provides alternative occupational achievement for women who opt by choice or by circumstance to attain socioeconomic position through their husbands' occupations, and that an advantageous social contact setting is crucial for access to promising mates so that a woman's personal attributes can be beneficial for marriage mobility. This study examined the experience of 34 women from a typically rural area (characterized by overall depression and a strong outmigration by the youth of the areas) to understand why, faced with limited opportunities, some achieved advancement through marriage while others remained nonmobile. The present study concerns a cohort of 134 females, first studied in 1957, who married during the post high school decade. It was found that women who met their husbands after moving to an urban social context were more likely to be mobile than women who met their husbands in a rural setting. When personal attributes were considered, it was found that most women who met their spouses in an urban setting achieved status advancement through marriage irrespective of personal characteristics. In contrast, positive personal attributes were strongly related to an advantageous marriage among the women who met their husbands in a rural context. The only personal attribute that appeared to relate strongly to marriage mobility was intelligence. (KM)

STATUS ATTAINMENT THROUGH MARRIAGE: THE EXPERIENCE OF RURAL WOMEN[1]

by

Philip N. Fulton

Department of Sociology

Michigan State University, East Lansing

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED 093564

ABSTRACT

The literature suggests that marriage provides alternative occupational achievement for women who opt by choice or by circumstance to attain socio-economic position by virture of the occupations of their husbands. It further suggests that an advantageous social contact setting is crucial for access to promising mates so that a woman's personal attributes can be beneficial for marriage mobility. This study examines the experience of women from a rural area to understand why, faced with limited opportunities, some achieved advancement through marriage while others remained nonmobile.

We found that women who met their husband after moving to an urban social context were more likely to be mobile than women who met their husband in a rural setting. When personal attributes were considered, we found that most women who met their spouse in an urban contact setting achieved status advancement through marriage irrespective of personal characteristics. In contrast, positive personal attributes were strongly related to an advantageous marriage among the women who met their husband in a rural social context.

RC008025

[1]Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Montreal, August, 1974. This is one of a series of papers, articles, and research reports generated from the Ontonagon County Project, under the direction of J. Allan Beegle.

STATUS ATTAINMENT THROUGH MARRIAGE: THE EXPERIENCE OF RURAL WOMEN[1]

Young people growing up in contemporary American society are confronted with many pressures to become upwardly mobile. Parents often attempt to influence career decisions, the school system instills the value of education as a tool for advancement, and the media constantly besiege young people with the temptations of material possessions that accompany "success."

Men traditionally have been expected to achieve status through occupational attainment, but women as yet have not received just treatment in the employment market despite their many advances toward social equality. They have typically been limited to a narrow choice of occupations such as clerical, teaching, and lower status white-collar positions. Hence Tyree and Treas (1974) have observed that marriage provides a second kind of occupational achievement for women who may opt by choice or by circumstance to achieve their socioeconomic position by virtue of the occupations of their husbands.

The most important of these circumstances are the changing social and historical contexts through which women pass in the course of their lives. In his consideration of the experiences of cohorts through time, Ryder (1965) has noted that marriage is responsive to the pressure of restrictions or demands of the moment, such as the presence or absence of viable alternatives. Thus he states that "members of a cohort are influenced in the age at which they marry, the persons they choose to marry, and even their eventual likelihood of marriage by the particular set of circumstances prevailing at the time they reach marriage age." (Ryder, 1965:846)

This study deals with the importance of social context in mobility chances. We examine the marriage experience of a cohort of rural women

during the ten years following their high school graduation in 1957, a period in which marriage was often a less risky and more expedient route to rewards than striving for success in the job market. The objective is to understand why, faced with initially limited opportunities, some of the young women achieved social mobility through marriage while others remained virtually nonmobile. Later, in another paper, we intend to compare the findings arrived at here with the experiences of a second cohort of young women from the same area who graduated in 1968 and who are growing into adulthood in a more egalitarian social and historical milieu.

Hypergamy and Setting of Social Contact

The prevalence of hypergamy, that is, that women marry up, has long been assumed by sociologists concerned with intergenerational mobility. In an early article Popence (1937) described the phenomenon as the "mating gradient," while Anderson (1938) noted that although it varied in intensity at different levels of class, hypergany was quite common. However, this conclusion has been both substantiated by later studies (Centers, 1949; Hollingshead, 1950; Sundal and McCormick, 1951), and challenged by the evidence from others (Hunt, 1940; Laumann, 1966; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Rubin, 1968). Taken in sum the literature indicates that although marriage within the same social class is the general pattern, females tend to marry males of higher social status more often than males marry females of higher social rank (Burchinal, 1964; Zelditch, 1964).

The relatively narrow range of occupational roles in rural areas is restrictive to both young men and young women. Therefore, for those women who opt for marriage, whether or not it is by choice or by circumstance, the availability of upwardly mobile or high status mates would seem to be

especially difficult. Many aspiring young men leave their local community to attend college or to seek the greater occupational possibilities which a city or metropolitan area offers. In addition, until recently those young men who did not go to college were frequently called upon for military service very soon after high school graduation. Thus, the pool of eligible husbands in rural communities would appear to be relatively small, and it is doubtful that those who remain there could provide much mobility potential for their future spouses.

A woman's personal attributes are obviously of crucial importance in finding a promising husband. If such mates are not available in the local area these attributes are of no potential mobility value. Therefore, it appears, that other factors may be more fundamental to successful marital mobility for young women from rural areas. In a longitudinal study which has implications for this situation, Elder (1969) observed a sample of young girls continuously from the time they were in the fifth and sixth grade through high school graduation to assess their mental, physical, and social development. Occupational, educational, and marital status information was available for all the women in the sample for nineteen years after their graduation.

Elder found a strong relationship between high adolescent status aspiration and future social mobility through marriage. Intelligence and academic ability were shown to influence college attendance, which was also predictive of marriage mobility. This finding supports evidence that women who marry upward tend to have higher IQ scores than those who marry at their own level or down (Illsley, 1955). Elder concludes that a woman's chances for social ascent through marriage are dependent on her access to men of higher status before the exchange value[2/] of her personal

characteristics can be most effective. In other words, the social contact setting (in this instance a college campus) appears to be more basic than the woman's personal attributes. Without access to promising mates, personal qualities cannot be translated into mobility.[3/]

In the case of rural women, an urban community would also be a promising contact setting due to the greater likelihood of meeting high status or upwardly mobile men in such a social context. The same personal attributes that Elder found to be predictive of marriage mobility in the college setting would appear to be beneficial in the heterogeneous milieu of the city as well. In addition, certain other factors should be important to success in either setting. We noted very early in our discussion the importance of parental encouragement for young people. Also, mobility through marriage would seem to demand deferred marriage to allow sufficient time for selectivity to take place.

The present study investigates the incidence of marriage mobility among young women from a rural area of Michigan. Based on the literature cited and our discussion, we hypothesize, first, that meeting the future husband in an urban social context will be associated with subsequent social mobility through marriage. Second, we predict that personal attributes of the young women which have positive exchange value in the marriage market will be more strongly related to future marriage mobility in an urban social context than in a rural social context. Such attributes are seen to be: a) above average intelligence, b) high academic ability, c) positive parental encouragement for status improvement, d) deferred marriage, and e) high future status aspirations.

METHOD OF STUDY

Data for the present study were taken from a longitudinal study of young people from Ontonagon County, a remote rural area located on the shore of Lake Superior in the western portion of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The Village of Ontonagon, whose 1970 population was 2,432, is the largest community in the county. Seven smaller hamlets are scattered about the area, but many of the county's approximately 10,500 inhabitants live in open country.

Due to the poor soil, a short growing season, and the remoteness of the area from potential markets agriculture occupies only a small fraction of the work force. Lumbering was an important activity around the turn of the century when the region was first cut over, but it is relatively insignificant now. The most important economic enterprise in the area is copper mining. However, the several episodes of vigorous mining activity in the past were typically followed by gradual exhaustion of the deposits and closure of the mines. Hence the county's long history of population loss may be attributed in large part to its economic instability.

Its remoteness from urban areas imposes considerable hardship on Ontonagon County's inhabitants. The county lacks many essential services and facilities. There is a shortage of doctors and other professionals, and no form of public transportation operates in the area. The overall atmosphere is one of widespread depression and, particularly, out-migration of the young. In this respect the county exhibits a pattern similar to that of many rural areas in the North Central Region of the United States. For this reason, Ontonagon County serves as an ideal site for exploring the problems and experiences of rural youth.

All 269 high school juniors and seniors in the county (142 fenales and 127 males) were first studied in 1957 (Goldsmith and Beegle, 1962) and extensively restudied eleven years later (Rieger et. al., 1973). Information was obtained about their occupational and educational experiences, marital and residential histories, and feelings about what had taken place during ten years after graduation. The present study concerns the cohort of 134 females from the original group who married during the post high school decade (PHSD).

The dependent variable, social mobility through marriage, was measured by comparing the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (Reiss, 1961) score for each woman's father's occupation at the time of her high school graduation and her husband's score at the end of the PHSD.[4/] When the two scores for each subject were compared, a positive, negative, or zero mobility score was arrived at. The average mobility score for the cohort was found to be +16. Since our intention here is to ascertain relative movement, that is, members of the cohort relative to other members of the cohort,[5/] women whose score was above the norm for the cohort (+17 or greater) were then classified as upwardly mobile, while women whose mobility score was +16 or below were grouped as nonmobile.

The independent variable social contact setting was dichotomized from questionnaire responses indicating the place where each girl first met her husband. An urban place (2,500 or more population) was categorized as an urban social context,[6/] and rural localities (less than 2,500 population) were classified as rural social contexts for possible marriage mobility. Other independent variables were dichotomized in the following manner:

Intelligence for each subject was based on the most recent IQ score recorded in school records from standardized tests. A score of 100 or

above was defined as above average and scores less than 100 were defined as below average.

Academic ability was measured using percentile scores based on high school graduation ranks. Emphasis in the dichotomy was placed on superior ability. Attainment of the sixty-sixth percentile or above was defined as high, and scores below that percentile were defined as low.

Timing of marriage was dichotomized as deferred (more than one year after high school graduation) and early (within the first year after graduation).

Parental encouragement for status improvement was ascertained from each subject's response to a question asking the course of action her parents encouraged her to take after high school graduation. Parental preferences stressing the freedom to leave the local community for advancement were defined as positive encouragement, and preferences that stressed the daughter remaining near home after graduation were defined as negative encouragement.

Status aspiration before marriage was ascertained from a questionnaire response eliciting the one most important quality from a given list of eleven which the subjects felt an ideal future occupation should provide. Positive response to qualities stressing high status ("money," "power and authority," "prestige," etc.) was considered an expression of high status aspiration, while positive response to qualities not implying high status ("time to enjoy myself," "friendship with fellow employees," "freedom of behavior," etc.) was considered to express low status aspiration.

The data were first analyzed by cross-classifying the independent variable social contact setting with marriage mobility. Then, each of the other independent variables was cross-classified with marriage mobility.

controlling social contact setting, to discover the influence of the variables in the two contrasting settings.

A chi square test of difference was employed as a convenient criterion to indicate the existence of concomitant variation between variables. Because the chi square value is sensitive to the size of N in the contingency table, if N is small it requires a much more striking relationship in order to clearly indicate significance.[7] In fact, in such cases we may be saying a lot if we achieve a chi square value where $p < .10$ or better. Therefore, since we expect relatively small N's in our analysis, we will report all chi square values to aid in interpretation. Yule's Q was also used in each case to ascertain the strength of association between variables.[8]

F I N D I N G S A N D D I S C U S S I O N

The moderate association ($Q=.32$, $p < .10$) between social contact setting and marriage mobility shown in Table 1 is in the direction of our hypothesis. Fifty-five percent of the women who met their husbands in an urban social context were later socially mobile through marriage, while of those who met their husbands in a rural context, only 38 percent were mobile.

(Table 1 about here)

Table 2 presents the relationship between the women's personal characteristics and marriage mobility, controlling for contact setting, to assess the importance of each attribute in an urban versus a rural social context. Our expectations with regard to intelligence appear to be confirmed. IQ was found to be moderately associated with marriage mobility in the urban setting ($Q=.42$, $p < .20$). Sixty-one percent of those women with a high level of intelligence who met their husbands in an urban social context were subsequently mobile through marriage. In contrast, intelligence had

only a negligible relationship in a rural social context (Q=-.09). Both women with above and below average IQ's tended to be nonmobile. Overall, women who met their husbands in an urban social context were more intelligent (72 percent had above average IQ's) than those who met their husbands in a rural context (31 percent were above average) regardless of subsequent marriage mobility.

Contrary to prediction, we found no relationship between academic ability and marriage mobility in the urban social context (Q=-.07). Women who had evidenced either high or low ability in high school were nearly equal in status advancement and tended to be mobile if they met their husband in an urban setting. However, in a rural social context academic ability was shown to be quite strongly related to mobility (Q=.52, $p < .05$). Fifty-six percent of those women with high ability were socially mobile through marriage, while only 29 percent of those with low ability were similarly mobile. The majority of women in each setting did not achieve exceptionally high academic standing in high school.

Women who met their husbands in an urban social context were more likely to have deferred marriage (91 percent) than those who met their husbands in a rural context (49 percent). Yet, in urban settings the data indicate very little difference in marriage mobility outcomes for women who took this course of action (Q=-.16). Only 52 percent were mobile. But in a rural social context, waiting to marry was much more closely associated with future mobility (Q=.43, $p < .10$). Forty-nine percent of those women who deferred marriage and met their husbands in that contact setting achieved status advancement, while only 27 percent who married early were mobile.

The entire cohort evidenced low future status aspiration at the time of high school graduation regardless of the social context in which they first met their husbands. Seventy-eight percent of those women who met in urban settings and 79 percent of those who met in rural settings expressed low aspirations. Contrary to expectations, women who met their husband in an urban social context tended to be mobile through marriage regardless of status aspiration, resulting in negligible covariation (Q=.07). In that setting, 58 percent of those who expressed high future aspiration and 55 percent of those who had low aspirations attained status advancement. But in a rural social context, high status aspiration was more strongly related to marriage mobility (Q=.44, $p < .10$). Fifty-six percent of those with high status aspiration were later mobile through marriage as opposed to only 33 percent of those with low aspirations.

(Table 2 about here)

These findings offer several conclusions. Women who met their husband after moving to an urban setting were generally found to be more intelligent, to have waited longer to marry, and to be more likely to have received positive parental encouragement for status improvement than was the case for women who remained in rural areas. Nevertheless, only intelligence was found to be strongly associated with marriage mobility. It would appear then that all the above factors were characteristic of women of rural origin who met their husband in an urban social context but that only intelligence was particularly related to status advancement through marriage as well. The highly intelligent rural woman may have been better able to adapt to and benefit from the opportunities found in the milieu of the city.

Aside from intelligence, a woman's positive personal characteristics were more important for marriage mobility in a rural social context than in

an urban setting. Women who met their husband in a rural context most readily achieved social mobility through marriage if they were high academic achievers, deferred marriage after high school, received positive parental encouragement, and had high future status aspirations. In fact, for each of these variables women with such positive traits who met their husband in a rural social context were as successful or nearly as successful in terms of marriage mobility as women with the same characteristics who met their husband after moving to an urban contact setting. However, the difference in structural contributions between social contexts becomes obvious when women with low or negative attributes in each setting are compared.

In the urban social context women with negative characteristics were as likely to be mobile through marriage as those with positive characteristics, but as we described above, in a rural setting this phenomenon clearly did not occur. It thus seems apparent that for those women who moved to an urban area before meeting their future husband, aside from intelligence, the greater opportunity offered by the city itself made positive personal attributes unnecessary to achieve status advancement through marriage. However, for women who remained in rural areas, there occurred a process of selectivity on the basis of personal traits. At the simplest level then, the findings suggest that young women from rural areas who may opt to achieve socioeconomic position by virtue of the occupations of their husbands stand a better chance of doing so if they leave their area of origin for the greater opportunity of an urban social context.

Aside from observable conclusions, our findings must also be placed in historical perspective. These women reached marriage age at a time and in a social milieu when early marriage was normative behavior. A

trend towards younger age at marriage which had begun after World War II culminated with the marriage cohort of 1955-1959 (Kiser, et. al., 1968). Looked at in terms of birth cohorts, the median age at marriage for the 1935-1939 cohort, of which the women in our study are members, was a low 19.9 (Bureau of the Census, 1972a). Early marriage typically results in early childbearing, further restricting the options available to the women.

In addition to the typical pattern of early marriage, career opportunities for women were limited. Striving for success in the job market was not the most viable alternative for the young women in the study. Only 77 percent of the women had been employed before they were married, and of those, 74 percent held low-status clerical, service, and sales positions. It is not surprising then, when the above circumstances are taken in sum, that the women were more successful at social mobility through marriage than through occupational achievement. This raises the question as to how we expect the experiences of the 1968 graduates to differ from those of the earlier group.

The 1968 cohort has been passing through the marriageable ages in a different historical and social context. The median age at marriage for females has been gradually rising, suggesting that a greater percentage of women in the ages under 25 are remaining single longer, presumably to seek a greater selectivity in career and/or marriage options. The proportion of the female population that is employed is also rising, gradually increasing from 31.4 percent in 1950 to 34.8 percent in 1960, and rising more sharply to 42.6 percent in 1970 (Bureau of the Census, 1972b).

Hence, we expect that during their post high school decade the 1968 graduation cohort, in contrast to the 1957 group, will be more likely to postpone marriage longer to pursue a career. It is unreasonable, however,

to predict a high rate of rejection of the marriage option, but rather an increase in the choices available so that regardless of marital status more women are able to attain occupational position by choice rather than by circumstance.

REFERENCES

Anderson, C. Arnold

1938 "Our present knowledge of assortive mating." Rural Sociology 3 (September):296-302.

Blalock, Hubert M., Jr.

1972 Social Statistics (2nd ed.), New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Blau, Peter M. and Otis Dudley Duncan

1967 The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Blood, R. O., Jr.

1955 "A retest of Waller's rating complex." Marriage and Family Living 17 (February):41-47.

Burchinal, Lee G.

1964 "The Premarital Dyad and Love Involvement." pp. 623-674 in Harold T. Christensen (ed.), Handbook of Marriage and the Family. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Centers, Richard

1949 "Marital selection and occupational strata." American Journal of Sociology 54 (May):530-535.

Davis, James A.

1971 Elementary Survey Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Davis, Kingsley

1941 "Intermarriage in caste societies." American Anthropologist 43 (July-September):376-395.

Elder, Glen H., Jr.

1969 "Appearance and education in marriage mobility." American Sociological Review 34 (August):519-533.

Goldsmith, Harold and J. Allan Beegle

1962 "The initial phase of voluntary migration." East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Studies (mimeographed).

Goode, William J.

1966 "Family and Mobility." pp. 582-601 in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power (revised edition). New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Hollingshead, August B.

1950 "Cultural factors in the selection of marriage mates." American Sociological Review 15 (October): 619-620.

Hunt, Thomas C.

1940 "Occupational status and marriage selection." American Sociological Review 5 (August):495-504.

Kiser, Clyde V., Wilson H. Grabill, and Arthur A. Campbell

1968 Trends and Variations in Fertility in the United States. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Illsley, Raymond

1955 "Social class selection and class differences in relation to stillbirths and infant deaths." British Medical Journal (December 24):1520-1524.

Laumann, Edward O.

1966 Prestige and Association in an Urban Community: An Analysis of an Urban Stratification System. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Popenoe, Paul

1937 "Mate selection." American Sociological Review 2 (October): 735-743.

Reiss, Albert J., Jr.

1961 Occupations and Social Status. New York: Free Press.

Reiger, Jon N., J. Allan Beegle, and Philip N. Fulton

1973 "Profiles of rural youth: A decade of migration and social mobility." East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Report 178.

Rubin, Zick

1968 "Do American Women marry up?" American Sociological Review 33 (October):750-760.

Ryder, Norman B.

1965 "The cohort as a concept in the study of social change." American Sociological Review 30 (December):843-861.

Smith, W. M., Jr.

1952 "Rating and dating: A re-study." Marriage and Family Living 15 (November):312-317.

Smith, Eleanor and J. M. Greenberg-Monane

1953 "Courtship values in a youth sample." American Sociological Review 18 (December):635-640.

Sundal, A. Philip and Thomas C. McCormick

1951 "Age at marriage and mate selection: Madison, Wisconsin." American Sociological Review 16 (February):37-48.

Tyree, Andrea and Judith Treas

1974 "The occupational and marital mobility of women." American Sociological Review 39 (June):293-302.

U.S. Bureau of the Census

1972a Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 239, "Marriage, Divorce, and Remarriage by Year of Birth: June 1971," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

U.S. Bureau of the Census

1972b Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1972. (93d edition) Washington, D.C., 1972.

Waller, Willard

1937 "The rating and dating complex." American Sociological Review 2 (December):727-734.

Winch, Robert F.

1958 Mate Selection: A Study of Complementary Needs. New York: Harper and Row.

Zelditch, Morris, Jr.

1964 "Family, marriage, and kinship." pp. 680-733 in Robert E. L. Faris (ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology. Chicago: Rand McNally.

FOOTNOTES

2. Elder (1969) notes that exchange theory has often been used to explain mate selection and marriage. For examples, see the following cited after Elder (1969:519): Davis (1941); Waller. (1937); Winch (1958); and Goode (1956).

3. We have neglected to discuss the importance of physical attractiveness in mate selection because it was not able to be included in the present study and because of its subjective nature. However, several studies have found appearance to be strongly related to marriageability (Waller, 1937; Smith, 1952; Blood, 1955; Smith and Greenberg-Monane, 1953; Elder, 1969).

4. Inconsistencies in the literature have resulted from the use of different measures of marriage mobility. Rates of hypergamy have been ascertained by comparing: the social class of spouses based on the residential area each lived in before marriage (Hollingshead, 1950); the husband's occupational status and the wife's status based on her own occupation (Hunt, 1940; Sundal and McCormick, 1951); the social status of each spouse's father (Rubin, 1968); and the husband's occupational status versus that of his wife's father (Centers, 1949; Elder, 1969; Tyree and Treas, 1974). We shall follow Elder's conclusion that measures of status relationship between families rather than individuals exclude important information such as the relative mobility potential of the husband.

5. If the mobility experience of the cohort were to be compared to that of the nation as a whole, some account should be taken of the secular trend in the intergenerational mobility of their husbands, i.e., the general tendency for subsequent cohorts to achieve higher prestige due to the relative decrease in lower-status jobs in the occupational structure. However, the post high school decade for the husbands is not comparable to the length of time the wives' fathers have had for career achievement. In most cases the husbands may not have been in the labor force for the full ten years. Thus, without comparing the husbands with the fathers at similar points in their life cycles, accounting for a secular trend would have little meaning.

6. Seven of the 134 subjects met their husband while in college. Because in each instance the college was located in an urban area, and given the social milieu which typifies a college campus, these contact settings were categorized as urban social contexts.

7. For a thorough explanation of the properties and usage of coefficient Q, see Davis (1971).

8. For a discussion of the effects of sample size on chi square values see Blalock (1972:291-295).

Table 1. Social contact setting and marriage mobility

Mobility Group	Social Contact Setting	
	Urban (N=55)	Rural (N=79)
Mobile	55%	38
Nonmobile	45	62
TOTAL	100	100

$Q=.32 \quad X^2=3.637$ 1 d.f. $p<.10$

Table 2. Personal Characteristics and Marriage Mobility, Controlling for Social Contact Setting

Personal Characteristics	Urban Social Context				Rural Social Context			
		Mobile	Nonmobile	Total		Mobile	Nonmobile	Total
	(% Down)	(Percent Across)			(% Down)	(Percent Across)		
INTELLIGENCE*								
Above average (N=33)	72	61	39	100	Above average (N=34)	51	35	65	100
Below average (N=13)	28	38	62	100	Below average (N=33)	49	39	61	100
Total (N=46)	100				Total (N=67)	100			
		Q=.42 X^2=1.981 1 d.f. p<.20					Q=-.09 X^2=.125 1 d.f. p<.80	
ACADEMIC ABILITY**								
High (N=24)	44	50	50	100	High (N=27)	36	56	44	100
Low (N=30)	56	54	46	100	Low (N=49)	64	29	71	100
Total (N=54)	100				Total (N=76)	100			
		Q=-.07 X^2=.048 1 d.f. p<.90					Q=.52 X^2=5.378 1 d.f. p<.05	
TIMING OF MARRIAGE								
Deferred (N=50)	91	52	48	100	Deferred (N=39)	49	49	51	100
Early (N= 5)***	9	-	-	-	Early (N=40)	51	27	73	100
Total (N=55)	100				Total (N=79)	100			
		Q=-.16 X^2=.142 1 d.f. p<.80					Q=.43 X^2=3.793 1 d.f. p<.10	
PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT****								
Positive (N=44)	79	52	48	100	Positive (N=38)	49	45	55	100
Negative (N=12)	21	58	42	100	Negative (N=39)	51	31	69	100
Total (N=56)	100				Total (N=77)	100			
		Q=-.12 X^2=.153 1 d.f. p<.70					Q=.29 X^2=1.614 1 d.f. p<.30	
STATUS ASPIRATION*****								
High (N=12)	22	58	42	100	High (N=16)	21	56	44	100
Low (N=42)	78	55	45	100	Low (N=60)	79	33	67	100
Total (N=54)	100				Total (N=76)	100			
		Q=.07 X^2=.030 1 d.f. p<.90					Q=.44 X^2=2.822 1 d.f. p<.10	

*IQ scores were not available for 21 women
**Graduation ranks were not available for four women.
***Percent across not meaningful because of small base N.
****No response = 1.
*****No response = 4.